INTEGRATION THROUGH NAMING PRACTICES AMONG WOMEN OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN NORTHEASTERN FRANCE

Feray J. BASKIN [*]

Abstract

For second-generation young women/mothers with Turkish immigrant parents, selecting non-traditional Turkish names plays a crucial role in integrating into Western society. While various European studies, particularly in Germany, explore the link between names and integration, there is lack of onomastics research within the Turkish community France. Guided interviews with young pregnant women and women who are already mothers of Turkish descent in Northeastern Alsace reveal that this community prioritize three key criteria when choosing first names: 1) appropriate length, 2) meaning and pronunciation in French and 3) the Turkish meaning of the selected names. My study suggests that modernization including activities such as watching Turkish Dizi (TV series), being in the workforce, distancing oneself from religion, dressing untraditionally, not wearing the headscarf, and having native friends, impacts the choice of Turkish names. In this context, names like Eda, Arda, Elisa, Akif are preferred over more traditional names like Ayşe, Özlem, Hatice, Nuray, or Engin, which previous generations recognize and are more familiar with. Nevertheless, preserving Turkish heritage in a child's identity remains crucial, leading in this study, to the inclusion of a traditional Turkish name as a middle name for this generation's offspring. Examining four narratives from interviews shed new light on the overlooked issue of naming practices among Turkish immigrants in France, serving as an indicator of integration and a marker of social identity in the country.

Keywords: language, France, Turkish immigrant, second generation, integration, anthroponymy

Kuzeydoğu Fransa'daki Türkiye Kökenli Kadınlar Arasında Adlandırma Pratikleri Yoluyla Entegrasyon

Öz

Ebeveynleri Türk göçmen olan ikinci nesil genç kadın/anneler için geleneksel olmayan Türk isimlerini seçmek, Batı toplumuna entegre olmada kilit bir rol oynar. Almanya gibi çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerinde birçok çalışma isimlerle entegrasyon arasındaki bağlantıyı araştırırken, Fransa'daki Türk topluluğuyla ilgili onomastik araştırmalar eksiktir. Kuzeydoğu Alsace'deki Türk kökenli genç hamile kadınlar ve annelerle görüşme izlencesiyle yapılan görüşmeler, bu topluluğun ilk ismi seçerken üç temel ölçütü esas aldığını ortaya koymaktadır.

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[*] Ph.D., Department of Anthropology | MLA Bibliography International Bloomington, Indiana University, 47405, USA.
Indiana.fbaskin@iu.edu. ORCID ID 0009-0003-6205-6675

1)uygun uzunluk, 2) Fransızca telaffuzu ve anlamı, 3) seçilen isimlerin Türkçe anlamı. Çalışmam, Türk dizisi izleme, işhayatında olma, dinden uzaklaşma, geleneksel olmayan giyim tarzı, başörtüsü takmama ve yerli arkadaşlara sahip olma gibi faaliyetleri içeren modernleşmenin, Türk ilk isim seçimini etkilediğini öne sürüyor. Bu bağlamda, Eda, Arda, Elisa, Akif gibi isimler, önceki nesillerin tanıdığı ve daha aşina olduğu Ayşe, Özlem, Hatice, Nuray veya Engin gibi daha geleneksel isimlere tercih ediliyor. Bununla birlikte çocuğun kimliğinin bir parçası olan Türk mirasının korunması hayati bir önem taşımaya devam etmektedir ve bu durum, bu çalışmada, geleneksel bir Türk isminin bu neslin çocukları için ikinci ad olarak dahil edilmesine yol açmıştır. Görüşmelerden elde edilen dört anlatının incelenmesi, Fransa'daki Türk göçmenler arasında gözden kaçan ve ülkedeki entegrasyonun bir göstergesi ve sosyal kimliğin bir ifadesi olarak hizmet eden isimlendirme uygulamlarına yeni bir ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Dil, Fransızca, Türk göçmenler, ikinci nesil, entegrasyon, antroponim

Introduction

Immigrants integrate into their host culture in various ways, such as speaking the language, enrolling their children in local schools, and opening businesses. The degree of integration varies among immigrant groups, with some groups preferring to remain more insular. According to a 1994 survey by the *Institut National d'Études Démographiques* (French National Institute for Demographic Studies), for example, Turkish immigrants in France are unique in that "no other immigrant groups show more clear and repetitive signs of societal withdrawal than the Turkish" (Bozarslan 1996: 14). Thus, many first-generation Turkish immigrants in France lack social capital, defined as the "benefits derived from … social, economic, and cultural structures that create differential power and status for specific individuals and not others" (Claridge 2015). In contrast, second-and third-generation immigrants acquire access to different resources as they adopt local fashions, foods, music, and art. Whether this social capital is reflected in more personal family decisions, such as naming one's children, remains unclear. Little research has been done on Turkish name patterns in France and among various generations. According to Lieberson (2000: 191), "names with sounds that are difficult . . . to pronounce are probably going to decline [more rapidly] than other ones that were part of the migrants [sic] standard repertoire of names."

This paper focuses only on the findings dealing with naming practices. I interviewed 23 women of Turkish heritage (aged 18–75) living in Villeboch,[1] a small city of fewer than 8,000 inhabitants in Alsace, France. Villeboch is geographically notable, as it is in France but borders Germany. The women, who represented first-, second-, and third-degree Turkish descendants, shared their thoughts on names for their children. Specifically, I asked them to share their choices of first name indicating the maintenance of the Turkish heritage along with adherence to French phonetic rules. I interviewed women mainly, because they are the ones, in this community, who pass on the traditions, culture, and language. This phenomenon is also attested in sociolinguistic studies (Aitchison 2001). Data collection took place during two fieldwork trips in late 2013 and spring 2016.This article focuses on four (4) women. Azime and Nuran represent mothers in their mid-thirties and mid-forties, who were born in Turkey but arrived in France between the ages of three and ten. Sevda and Zeynep are French-born, each with at least one Turkish immigrant parent. All

four women knew each other and considered themselves friends or close acquaintances. All were married to Turkish-born men. Thus, these men have barely immersed themselves in French society and identify strongly with Turkish language and culture. All have engaged in various forms of social capital acquisition (Bourdieu 1977) via a network of friends and relatives. All discussed names they would choose for their children, reflecting on their own integration and contribution to the French onomastic landscape while also focusing on preserving their Turkish heritage, in general and in the names they chose.

I decided to use the terminology "integration" instead of "assimilation" because the younger informants use the term "integration" and not "assimilation" and because I dislike the term "assimilation" when it comes to the children born in France of immigrant parents. The term "assimilation" is an outdated approach and is best used and representative of the former colonies and the *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) approach implemented by France.

This study, based on my semi-structured interviews, contributes to Gerhards and Hans's (2009: 1106) cultural boundaries taxonomy, and to Alba's (2005) *bright vs. blurred boundaries* concepts. I call what I have observed *phonetic boundaries* and argue that integration is accomplished in new ways by the younger generations. The following phonetic boundaries need to be added to Gerhards and Hans's list of features in immigrants' names that we need to pay attention to.

Methodology

I address the question of integration by analyzing the discourses of naming practices among four women. During my fieldwork, three of the participants were pregnant and, thus, choosing names for their babies was exciting and challenging. The fourth woman already had two daughters. I meet with these four women at different occasions and conducted semi-structured conversations in their homes as well as in their workplaces (i.e., restaurant, café, outdoor and indoor community cultural events). The language of the conversations was either French, Turkish, or a mix of both languages. I asked the participants a set of specific questions about choosing names for their children. I classified my subjects within generational categories based on Crul and Vermeulen (2003): Generation 1 (G1), generation 1.5 (G1.5), generation 2 (G2). I will use the expressions "middle generation" for G1.5, and "second generation" for G2. The first-generation groups adult Turks who migrated to France in the 1970s. The second generation consists of the children of the first generation, who are French-born and have a French education. The middle generation is the group who were born in Turkey and came to France between the ages of three and ten. I recognized that the amount of data is small and does not represent the whole of the Turkish minority group in France. Naming practices can differ from one French region to another.

Theoretical Framework

Onomastic studies in immigrant communities have been researched in many linguistic contexts and many societies. For instance, in Germany, scholars such as Gerhards and Hans (2009) and Becker (2009) have studied naming patterns and their meaning for Turkish parents and their children in terms of identity and assimilation. These connections have also been investigated in other ethnic groups, e.g., Korean Americans (Thompson 2006) and Hispanics (Sue and Telles 2007) in the United States, and Turkish Jews in Turkey (Brink-Danan 2010). In their case study Gerhards and Hans (2009) investigated naming practices in three different immigrant groups: immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, immigrants from Romanic countries, and immigrants from Turkey. The authors explained "that integration and ethnic maintenance in terms of name giving depend on the permeability of cultural boundaries between the country of origin and the host society" (2009: 1104). They identified three different ways in which this happens: *boundary crossing*, *boundary shifting*, and *boundary blurring* (1106). Gerhards and Hans defined the three terms as follows:

> *boundary crossing* occurs when individuals from the ethnic minority choose names common only in the majority group. *Boundary shifting* means that there is still an ethnic distinction, but that some names previously considered foreign have changed status and become normal majority names. *Boundary blurring*, on the other hand, implies that there are some names that are common in both the majority and minority groups, so that a clear distinction can no longer be made. (Gerhards and Hans 2009: 1106)

While Gerhards and Hans (2009) focus on the semantics of names, in my study pronunciation plays a significant role. I used Gerhards and Hans's (2009) theoretical framework because the common minority group in both studies is the Turkish immigrant group. In addition to Gerhards and Hans's (2009) taxonomy, it is, thus, necessary to introduce the following two categories to better understand how Turkish mothers in Villeboch have decided and (will) decide on what to name their children. Therefore, I propose the following two phonetic boundaries:

1. *Phonetic boundary shifting,* which is the process whereby pronunciation of minority names is adapted to fit the phonological constraints of the majority language (e.g., when Turkish names get Frenchified) for example, "**H**ami," where the letter "h" is not pronounced in French, or the name "Asl**an**," where the last two letters, "an," become the nasalized sound [ã] in French.

2. *Phonetic boundary blurring*, which happens when parents conspicuously choose names that comply with the phonological constraints of both the minority and majority languages (e.g. names that sound too Turkish or too French are dropped from the list—only names that are easy to pronounce in both languages stay on the list- i.e., "Elif").

1	Boundary crossing	Virginie, Louise, Christophe
2	Boundary shifting	Mohammed, Ali, Ahmed

3	Boundary blurring	Mikaeli for Michael, Deniz for Denise, Eliz for Élise
4	**Phonetic boundary shifting**	[selin]
5	**Phonetic boundary blurring**	[selma], [elif], [akif]

Table 1: Gerhards and Hans's (2009) semantic boundary typology (1–3). Baskin (2020), phonetic boundary (4 and 5).

In another study on onomastics and integration in Germany, Becker (2009: 211) explained Turkish parents' naming choices in terms of emotional separation and emotional assimilation and distinguished the following four categories:

1. *Separation*: The first name is common in Turkey, but not in Germany.
2. *Integration*: The first name is common in both Turkey and Germany.
3. *Assimilation*: The first name is common in Germany, but not in Turkey.
4. *Marginalization*: The name is common neither in Germany nor in Turkey.

In contrast to what Becker (2009) found in her study of Turkish parents choosing names for their children in Germany, in my study parents have specific criteria that the names have to meet: Turkishness of the name, ease of pronunciation and spelling,[1] and a positive meaning in Turkish language or in the Koran. So, in terms of Becker's categories women of Villeboch fall into a subcategory of integration, which again could be defined as a phonetic integration category, because the selected names are not common names in France (e.g., "Eren," "Eda"), but rather fulfill the demands of French pronunciation. In Becker's study, 85.2% of Turkish parents tend to choose names which are common in Turkish only, whereas 12.5% choose names common in both German and Turkish (2009: 212). In Villeboch, in contrast, young mothers are more likely to choose names that sound more French, but with a hint of Turkish heritage. This generation uses modern names coming either from a list of names for a name book purchased in Turkey or names that are used in *Dizi* (television series) broadcasted on the Turkish TV channels in France. With those resources the younger generation has modern options compared to their parents who had more traditional Turkish names.

In the United States, among minority groups, "it has become common practice to choose names based on agreeable sounds, spelling, trends and explicit meanings, rather than on cultural origins and family heritage, which may be the consequences of a heterogeneous ethnic population" (Thompson 2006: 182). As Thompson (2006) demonstrates in her study of personal-name choices among three bilingual Korean American women in a large metropolitan city on the West coast,

> *Naming practices in Korea vary from those in the United States and other Western cultures, as given names are believed to bring either good or bad luck to the family, so that imparting a good name on sic] one's children is of immense importance.*

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Therefore] Fortune tellers . . . are often consulted when choosing names, although it is common for the eldest male relative on the father's side to choose the possible names. (Thompson 2006: 181)

In the Korean case, the fortune-teller becomes an authoritative agency in choosing a name.

In another case study among members of an immigrant community in the United States, Sue and Telles (2007) found "gender differences in the naming habits of Hispanic parents in California, which they relate to different expectations for sons versus daughters in terms of assimilation and maintaining traditional identity" (cited in Gerhards and Hans 2009: 1103). In essence, Hispanic parents in a large metropolitan West Coast city give American names to daughters more often than to sons, for whom they prefer traditional ethnic names, because sons are passing on the ethnic heritage, the family's last name. In Villeboch the participants I interviewed were all going to have or already had daughters, so we talked about girls' names. There were mentions of boys' names but no major discussion. It seems that in this community, it is more important to be integrated than to save Turkish traditional names for future daughters. In the Turkish community of Villeboch, Alsace, the gender difference in name choices is not significant, the difference is rather at the generational level. The middle generation and the second generation have started to give a middle name, which is generally a more traditional Turkish name. For instance, when the participants named their daughter "Elisa Zeynep" or "Ayla Ceren." In these cases, "**Zeynep**" and "**Ceren**" are the traditional Turkish names.

In Northern Alsace, sounds and spelling agreeable to the dominant culture are important, but in contrast to the minority groups in the United States, the Turkish community in Villeboch is deeply attached to its culture and therefore would not use French names (e.g., "Virginie," "Nathalie," "Sophie," "Jean," etc.,), but rather find names of Turkish origin with beautiful meanings, that were easy to pronounce and easy to write (e.g., "Layla," "Deniz," "Dilara," "Elif," "Sibel," etc.). Turkish parents, especially young mothers, reported that choosing first names for their children was a stressful experience because finding a Turkish name with no complicated spelling or pronunciation in French is challenging. When Turkish mothers choose a non-traditional Turkish name, I interpret it as a sign of integration. If they choose a name that is traditional in Turkish, I interpret it as a sign of retained Turkishness.

Results: Choosing an Untraditional Name
When I met pregnant Azime, she still did not know the gender of her baby, but had been thinking about names and apparently, she was not the only one. Her 15-year-old son had already chosen a boy's name: "Okan." But he did not have a girl's name for a possible sister. Her husband was adamant on the origin of the name. Azime could choose the name, but its origin must be Turkish. What did they mean by "Turkish origin"? For them and many of the informants, *d'origine turque*

(of Turkish origin) meant: coming from the Ottoman Empire era and not from the Atatürk/ modern era. Azime's son is named after a warrior of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the name has to be not only from the ethnic culture, but also from a specific era. For Azime, choosing a name of Turkish origin not only evokes the Ottoman Empire, it also references religion. This community's religion is Islam, and their holy book is the Qu'ran, which is written in classical Arabic, but has been translated into Turkish.

Azime's list of girls' names was exhaustive because she would be the one chosen. Some of the female names that she liked were "Miray," "Miral/Mira," "Almila." After deciding on a name, she, and others among the participants, ask the *hoca* (the imam) whether it is a good name, that is, if it has a good meaning in Islam. Thus, the imam of their *camii* (literally, mosque, but this is how Turkish immigrants refer to the local Turkish Association) becomes influential in the decision-making process. In the Korean case, the fortune-teller becomes an agent and in the Turkish case, it is the imam. In Villeboch, the Turkish community represents about 10% (~700 people) of the population. As in every small town, people know each other directly or indirectly (through their friends' social networks). This of course puts more pressure on the parents in finding original names; it requires them to do research, as they value the Turkishness of the name as well as its uniqueness. The wish for uniqueness in naming one's child is not peculiar to the Turkish community. In French society, after the law of 1993 allowing free choice of name, within reason, parents became creative in choosing names for their children; some examples are "Nutella," "Fraise," "Manhattan," "Fleur de Marie," "Louis-quatorze," "Lucifer," "Fañch," etc.). Names like these are refused by the officer at the city hall when registering the newborn, because such names are demeaning and could badly affect the person's identity. Many popular American names were used, such as "Jennifer," "Marylin," "Jason," etc. Unlike Turkish parents, ethnically French parents, *français de souche*, were not necessarily concerned about the Frenchness of the selected name, but rather with its originality and rarity. According to *Linguee*, an online translation dictionary, the French idiom *français de souche* denotes native-born French, ethnic French. So here it indicates a French individual with French-born parents and grandparents, and French ancestry.

Azime was more concerned about choosing a name based on its etymology and its pronunciation. She liked the female name "Miral" (the French equivalent is "Mireille"). For Azime it was too similar to "Mira," -a name that was too close to her girlfriend's child- and therefore she will not choose the name "Miral." Another significant factor is the pronunciation of Turkish names in French; for pronunciation to be easy is important and almost a requirement when naming the baby. Azime explains how some Turkish names, such as "Tamer" [tamɛr] and "Mert" [mɛrt], have beautiful meanings in Turkish ("Tamer": an expert; "Mert": wise, strong like a ram). The opposite is true when using the French pronunciation. *Ta mère* ("your mother," as in "F*** your mother") and *merde* ("shit") are pejorative and insulting. The positive Turkish aesthetic is not enough to

make it worth the child's enduring a difficult life in French society. When talking about names, many of the women bring up these two examples.

Parents who give their children typical Turkish names without being conscious of the phonological as well as semantic factors of the French language prioritize cultural maintenance rather than integration. This is especially true for the first generation when naming their children born in France. The child is sometimes ridiculed, traumatized, and consequently could end up segregating him-/herself from society or from the institution concerned. In extreme cases s/he could also change his/her first name. For example, Seval, a participant of the second generation, and a friend of Azime, has a cousin who, when he turned 18, changed his Turkish name, "Mert," because of its pejorative meaning in French. It is noteworthy that once naturalized as French, some members of the Turkish community adopt French names. But no one would tell me if they have been naturalized or if they have a French name as well as their Turkish one. Names have always been changed for the reasons discussed above. It is important to acknowledge that individuals do not change their last names or first names because they are escaping their identity or their roots, but because their names are being made fun of by members of the host society, because of a historical event, for instance. Another example is the Jewish community in Europe, whose post-WWII-born children received non-Jewish names, and not Jewish-sounding first names, because of the atrocities committed against them in WWII.

For Azime, neither "Mert" nor "Tamer" was an option as a name, because she lives in France. Even names that are *a priori* pronounced the same way in French and Turkish are meticulously tested. For instance, Azime commented on the name "Arda," which is not difficult to pronounce in French because almost all the sounds in "Arda" are the same in French as in Turkish and *a priori* it has no pejorative meaning to her knowledge. Nevertheless, she did not feel comfortable using it as her baby's name because of how the letter "r" sounds in French. She pronounced "Arda" with the French [r] and made a funny face at the French sound, which, to her, changes the name. The French [r] is usually uvular, but it varies by region. The name seems to change identity when the pronunciation is too different from the original Turkish. Other people who influenced her potential name choice were her French friends. Azime showed them her list and asked for feedback. For instance, she asked them about the female names "Defne" and "Cansu." Azime liked the Turkish name "Defne," but the name was rejected by her French friends because of not only the pronunciation, but also its cultural reference to a mean Disney character in *The Little Mermaid* named "Daphnée." Not only pronunciation, but also pop-cultural references need to be considered when it comes to choosing a flawless first name.

Azime's story is representative of the community; she and other Turkish parents very often consult their social network of Turkish and/or French friends and members of the nuclear family when selecting their child's name. This is historically unprecedented: As my informants say, "*eskiden*"

(back in the old days), among the first generation, it was usually the grandparents who would decide the names of their grandchildren. This practice has fallen out of use except in very rare cases. Nowadays, parents decide their children's names for themselves. Testing the names with her network of native French friends is an advantage for Azime because she will have firsthand feedback about whether the name sounds nice and has no pejorative references and/or meaning in French. Like other young mothers, she does not want her child to be ridiculed because of her/his first name.

Another name that Azime liked was "Melis," but her husband did not show the same excitement. She did not fully explain his reasoning, but this was not the first time he had disliked a non-traditional female name; when her sister-in-law, who lives in Holland, had suggested an untraditional Turkish name, Azime's husband had been critical of that too. Indefatigable, Azime researched many female names, either on the Internet or in Turkish baby-name books. Compared with members of the first generation, she was not trying to please her parents-in-law or others, but was more concerned about her child's future in French society and her husband's opinion.

 The second case of naming patterns involves my informant Nuran (middle generation—G1.5), who has two boys (aged 11 and 17). She wanted names that were short, easy to pronounce and to spell: "the pronunciation and the spelling were important." In her eyes, the importance of the meaning of the name was secondary. Her oldest son, Nuran, and her husband had three names to choose from: "Akif," "Melih," and "Kadir." "Akif" was a reference to the Turkish poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy, author of the Turkish anthem. This is an indication of the sense of belonging, staying in touch with their roots and their Turkish heritage. The original name of the Turkish author was too long, so she preferred "Akif." She was unconsciously hoping that her son would be, as she puts it, *un philosophe* (a philosopher), because Mehmet Akif Ersoy was an intellectually esteemed and important figure in Turkish culture. Later she found out that "Akif" means "meditation" in Turkish. Nuran and her husband were both hesitant about the name "Melih" because of how their own parents would say it: "Melik" or "Melih," with the voiced "h" at the end. It seems that Turkish names can be difficult to pronounce for native Turkish people as well. The name "Kadir" did not work because her husband is not fond of old names and to him "Kadir" was in that category. Whereas "Akif" is an older name, but it sounds *plus joli* (nicer) to him. Names with suffixes such as *can*, *nur*, or *han*, as in "Emirhan," were not an option for Nuran's husband. Without an explanation of this she went on to talk about her second son's name.

When deciding on the name of their youngest son, the same criteria applied: it must be short, easy to write and pronounce, not an old name, and it cannot include the suffix *han*. They chose the name "Eren," which means "the wise one" in Turkish. If she had a daughter, she would have named her "Eda": it is a name that she likes and it meets their criteria: short, easy to pronounce, and easy to write. Short names are gaining popularity also among the *français de souche* parents. There is a

decrease in numbers of children named "Alexandre" or "Nathalie," whereas names like "Lucas" or "Clara" are becoming more popular because of their shortness. Results of the Turkish case study in Villeboch do not demonstrate this kind of difference but do show that short and easily pronounced individual names are favored here as well.

The third case was my interview with Sevda, who was also pregnant. She had the same approach to naming her first baby: She wanted to find a name with a beautiful meaning in Turkish. Sevda is a young G2 woman whose husband came from Turkey a few years ago. They have been thinking about different names for their first child: If it is a boy, she would like to call him "Eymen," but her husband prefers "Efe"; as for the female name, she is considering "Elisa." Sevda found these names on the Internet by doing a search on different name websites. Like the other two participants, she was also aware of how her child's name would be mispronounced if she gave him/her a traditional typical Turkish name. Thompson states:

> *Individuals prefer and often use names that allow them to exist in social networks of which they desire to be a part. Immigrants are in a double bind: to have an ethnic name offers membership into their ethnic community, while that same name may bar them from communities in their new home country.* (2006: 203)

Therefore, having a middle name that is Turkish enables one of the new generations of Turkish children born in France to have at least two identities. These children can operate in everyday life with both names, used in their Turkish and French communities respectively, without necessarily feeling discriminated against or rejected because of their first names. It conveys a sense of belonging in both cultures.

The fourth case is that of Zeynep, a G2 as well, born in Alsace. Her story and her decisions are not so different from Sevda's, Nuran's, or Azime's. When she was pregnant with her twin daughters (Azra, [Nisa], and Eda) she also thought about giving them not just any name. She started her research on the Internet on Turkish baby-name websites and then made a list of names based on their meanings. She and her husband eliminated the names that were already used by relatives and/or friends. This was a very important criterion for her in addition to the meaning of the name. Another criterion is "*facile à lire en français*" (easy to read in French). She emphasized that aspect and explained why it is crucial that the French pronounce her name correctly. "Imagine I give my daughter a name and then they will make fun of her." Zeynep does not want her daughters to experience name humiliation because of the Turkish name's meaning in French or how the names sound in French.

Zeynep was very conscious of a name-calling incident when looking up names for her daughters; "*c'est quand même la psychologie des enfants.*" ("We are dealing here with the psychology of children.") In addition to her Internet research, she also consulted with her parents and the *hoca*

(imam) of their *camii*. The word *camii* means "mosque" in Turkish, but abroad, in host societies it also refers to the local Turkish Association. The reason she consulted with the imam was for the meaning of the name: Does the name have a good Koranic meaning? She needed reassurance and confirmation from the *hoca* (imam). Originally, she wanted to call one of her twin daughters *Nisa*. But, because of the meaning, she changed her mind and chose "Azra," which means "*c'est precieux précieux, c'est propre, une fille propre quoi en fait*" (It is precious, precious, it's clean, so, really a clean girl) Here the mother wants her daughter to be a pure and a "clean" girl and decides on that name. "Nisa" also has a meaning that appealed to Zeynep; it means "woman" in the Koran. And for her third daughter, the name "Eda" also has a Koranic meaning, "related to prayers."

Like Azime, Sevda, and Nuran, Zeynep is conscious of the mispronunciations and pejorative connotations of some Turkish names in French. This is due to their knowledge of the French language and culture. The first generation of immigrants, i.e., their parents, did not have the same cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977) in French society when they first arrived.

Choosing a name that is easy to pronounce in French—with the intention of avoiding discrimination—but also that conveys their Turkish heritage; or giving a second name which is more traditional and more Turkish than the first name, is not an easy task for these mothers. However, by consulting with their French social network they not only integrate into the host society, but also are able to remain loyal to their Turkish heritage.

Conclusion

Studies of Muslim minority groups in Europe have examined the different methods of integration in the host society. One of those methods is the use of naming practices and attention to cultural boundaries (Gerhards and Hans 2009, Becker 2009, Alba 2005). I have argued and demonstrated that mothers and/or women of Turkish heritage in Villeboch use naming practices to enable individuals to integrate into French society in a strategic way. Although there is a sign of integration, the naming practices of first names have to fulfill these criteria: 1) the name must have a beautiful religious and/ or Turkish meaning and 2) it must be short, must be easily spelled out, and must conform to natural French pronunciation. Thus, naming practices show that integration does take place. These women of younger generations are the new French of France. They cannot integrate or assimilate, as defined, and demonstrated by Tribalat (2013) in her study. Because these generations are immersed in French culture already early on, the Turkish community adapts to French society by modifying, negotiating their identity. This method of integration needs to be recognized by the host society and employed in a new and positive discourse about Muslim immigrants' integration process in Western societies. Such a positive discourse could decrease hate speech and the incidence of acts of discrimination against Turkish and Muslim minority groups

in France. Not speaking the language and not acculturating are factors that seclude immigrant communities. Thus, having a name that is pronounced according to the phonetic rules of French will be a tremendous symbolic start toward integration for younger generations. The present negative discourse about Muslim immigrants has contributed to the extraordinary rise of far-right political parties in many European countries (France, Germany, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland). We keep seeing this rising of the far right during national elections, which then results in overt racism, discrimination, and nativism in Western European host societies. Further research on naming practices among Muslims of generations born in Western Europe could possibly change the political landscape of the 21st century in terms of immigration policies as well as nationalism. There are some limitations to my arguments: The number of participants cannot be used as representative of the whole Turkish community, either in the Alsace region or in the whole of France. Therefore, the explanations of integration through naming practices formulated in this paper apply specifically to the Turkish community of Villeboch. Still, investigating naming practices, at the present, in other European countries (e.g., Holland, Belgium) where there is a Turkish community will open up conversations about the second generation of immigrant descent, the backgrounds of its members and their various ways of integration.

Endnotes

1 For privacy the name of the town has been change.

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Notlar

[1] Bu makalede türü karşılamak için Doğan Kaya'nın önerdiği "düzgü" terimi kullanılacaktır.
2 Mehmet Gönen'in hayatıyla ilgili bilgiler basım aşamasında olan Ateşim Gül Açtı adlı kitaptankısaltılarak aktarılmıştır. Daha fazla bilgi için bk. (Sayar, 2019: 1-14).
3Horanta: Çoluk çocuk, bütün aile fertleri, ev halkı (https://sozluk.gov.tr/). Horanta: https://sozluk.gov.tr/ (e.t. 01.
4Hasıda/hasíde: Şeker ve nişastayla veya pekmezden yapılan bir çeşit tatlı (https://sozluk.gov.tr/). Haside: https://sozluk.gov.tr/ (e.t. 01. 3. 2019).
5 "öğüt" sözcüklerinin kullanılmasıyla cinaslı kafiye yapılmıştır. Düzgülerin kafiye zenginliği bakımından bir örnektir.

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